

This article was downloaded by: [Susan Slyomovics]

On: 14 April 2013, At: 05:33

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Settler Colonial Studies

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rset20>

Who and what is native to Israel? On Marcel Janco's settler art and Jacqueline Shohet Kahanoff's "Levantinism"

Susan Slyomovics ^a

^a Anthropology and Near Eastern Languages and Cultures,
University of California-Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA, USA
Version of record first published: 13 Apr 2013.

To cite this article: Susan Slyomovics (2013): Who and what is native to Israel? On Marcel Janco's settler art and Jacqueline Shohet Kahanoff's "Levantinism", *Settler Colonial Studies*, DOI:10.1080/2201473X.2013.784238

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2013.784238>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae, and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Who and what is native to Israel? On Marcel Janco's settler art and Jacqueline Shohet Kahanoff's "Levantinism"

Susan Slyomovics*

Anthropology and Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, University of California–Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA, USA

The poetics and esthetics of "natural occupancy" are relevant to the ways in which settlers' colonists artistically and discursively produce their subsequent cultural formations. I focus on the decade of the 1950s to chart specific settler ideologies of ownership that emerged in Israel after the establishment of the state in 1948. What are the varied strands of colonizing ideology that define spaces currently inhabited by Jewish Israeli settlers seeking to forget the original colonial domination? One approach to questions about space, land, ownership, and indigeneity in Israel/Palestine is to investigate the literature and arts that serve to designate Jewish Israelis as natural occupants. Two seminal theories, the "Mediterranean option" (in Hebrew *yam tikhoniyut*) and "Levantinism" (*levantiniyut*), were imaginatively de-historicized in the art projects of Marcel Janco and the writings of Jacqueline Shohet Kahanoff, respectively. Both fostered the myth of natural occupancy by appropriating for themselves a sense of nativeness, just as each eliminated the indigenous Palestinian Arab presence through their own selective cultural assimilations.

The poetics and esthetics of "natural occupancy" (a term borrowed from Linda Harvey) are deeply relevant to the ways in which settlers and the descendants of settler colonists artistically and discursively produce their subsequent cultural formations.¹ This essay focuses on the decade of the 1950s to chart specific settler ideologies of ownership that emerged in Israel after the establishment of the state in 1948. The foundational consequences of Jewish settlement in Palestine are impossible to make disappear, as Patrick Wolfe concludes in his much-quoted definition: "Settler colonies were (are) premised on the elimination of the native societies. The split tending reflects a determinate feature of settler colonization. The colonizers come to stay – invasion is a structure not an event".² There are many ways to make the natives disappear and therefore, one compelling cultural studies inquiry is to trace those elements of colonizing ideology that define spaces currently inhabited by Jewish Israeli settlers seeking to forget the original colonial domination. My approach to questions about space, land, ownership, and indigeneity in Israel/Palestine is to investigate the varied refashionings in literature and the arts that serve to designate Jewish Israelis as natural occupants (to return to Linda Harvey's pioneering proposition):

To surrender the furnishings of a culture both European and bourgeois is to come into the sensuality of a "natural occupancy" of the new land. The pleasure afforded by these fictions is that they allow the

*Email: ssly@anthro.ucla.edu

heirs of a settler society to imagine our unhistoric origins as the (possibility of the) making of a settlement without a colony.³

The ideological underpinnings for Jewish settlement and a Jewish settler art in Palestine were transformed, or at least invigorated during the post-1948 histories of the Palestine–Israel conflict. Specifically, two seminal theories – one known as the “Mediterranean option” (in Hebrew *yam tikhoniyut*) and another as “Levantinism” (*levantiniyut*) – were imaginatively “unhistoricized” (again borrowing Hardy’s term) in the art projects and writings of Marcel Janco and Jacqueline Shohet Kahanoff respectively. By enacting the condition of coming from the outside in order to make their new homes in Israel seem like their old ones elsewhere, Kahanoff reconfigured imaginatively another extended and extensive Levant, while Janco implanted an artists’ colony in Israel based on Dada principles imported from pre-war Europe. Both fostered the myth of natural occupancy for Jewish Israeli settler colonialism by appropriating for themselves a sense of native-ness, just as each eliminated the indigenous Palestinian Arab presence throughout their own selective cultural assimilations.

It is this propulsive combination of the Mediterranean option and Levantinism that lives on Israel, and perhaps nowhere else, that I take as essential components to underwrite settler art obsessed with imaginatively controlling demography. Indeed, Janco and Kahanoff may have sympathetically immersed themselves in the local and the native, the Mediterranean and the Levantine;⁴ nonetheless, my caveat to readers is that settler colonists and their heirs possess limited horizons in the ways they can and cannot see themselves, or even acknowledge what they do and what has been done. It remains necessary to revisit protean reworkings that surround Zionist thematics about origins, indigeneity, and land from the early decades of 1950s statehood in Israel, because certain themes and their resulting consequences never go away.⁵ Although many state narratives elsewhere are founded on acts of forgetting, occlusion, and misremembering alongside myths of continuity that serve to prop up contemporary identities, nevertheless, Kahanoff’s literary afterlives, no less than Janco’s contemporary artist colony of Ein Hod, feed into newer iterations that also continue to act out the politics of colonial and settler colonial domination and land seizures. Therefore, I pursue these related themes: (1) the interconnections between successful cultural productions and the willed setting aside of the native, both necessary to settler colonialism and (2) how do a dead author and a dead artist, Kahanoff and Janco, go on living and do the ways in which their paintings recirculate and their writings get reprinted point to possible understandings about what constitutes settler art?

Marcel Janco: European pride of possession

If the objects that bring us shame are displayed in a museum, they are immediately transformed into possessions in which to take pride. (Kemal, fictional protagonist in Orhan Pamuk, *The Museum of Innocence*)⁶

The astonishing history evoked here is the history of European pride. (Albert Camus, *The Rebel*)⁷

My first example extends the research trajectory from my 1998 ethnography, *The Object of Memory: Arab and Jew Narrate the Arab Village*, in which it seemed that only fiction did justice to the conflict-ridden narratives about Marcel Janco, an artist and a founder of the Dada movement in Europe. In Israel, his signature, long-lasting achievement was the establishment in the 1950s of Ein Hod, a Jewish Israeli artist colony, within the spaces of ‘Ayn Hawd, a depopulated Palestinian Arab village: thus, ‘Ayn Hawd was both destroyed and preserved. In a 1982 interview, Janco elaborated on the circumstances of his move to Palestine in 1941:

In Romania I continued the ideas of Dada . . . I had a good life and my activities were free until Hitler came. My friends, especially Léger in New York and Arp in Paris, wrote to me saying: "Come here". But I told them I couldn't do it. I didn't want to be another wandering Jew. I wanted to settle in my own land, so I went to Israel. I brought here the ideas we started in Zurich and Romania. And I helped to build art in Israel.⁸

Unusually Ein Hod replaced the agriculturally based Arab village of 'Ayn Hawd without the complete physical destruction of its traditional Palestinian stone houses, unlike the fate of more than five hundred destroyed Palestinian villages within the 1948 borders of Israel. Located in the Carmel mountain range near Haifa, Palestinian 'Ayn Hawd fell to the Israeli army following a military operation that was distinguished by the participation of Israeli naval forces. Its inhabitants were forcibly removed beginning in July 1948 to endure the myriad losses of Palestinian refugees subdivided among the categories of internally displaced Palestinians carrying Israeli citizenship, the 1948 refugees to then Jordanian West Bank, and further dispersions from 1948 through 1967 until the present to form a far-flung diaspora within and outside the Middle East region. Taking over the buildings and lands of Palestinian Arab 'Ayn Hawd, Jewish Israeli Ein Hod developed from a weekend retreat for a small core of artists to a tourist destination with a renowned artists' exhibition center, museum, art programs, and training workshops that provided artistic traditions to enhance the political power of the State of Israel, while at the same time affirming historical claims to place by making art.

I viewed Marcel Janco's establishment of Ein Hod artists' colony as a story deeply rooted in Europe's early twentieth-century modernist art movements, specifically Dadaism, which he then married to Zionist colonialism to produce what I called "Dada colonialism" based on Jewish Israelis as the true natives. In contrast, Palestinian Arabs were viewed as part of the vast, undifferentiated Arab populations throughout the Middle East region and remain for Janco and many fellow artists, at best no more autochthonous than immigrant Jewish settlers. Rationalizations by Janco and his circle of artists are familiar, numerous and even contradictory, formulated to account for the presence of Palestinians in the Holy Land: Arabs are construed variously as descendants of the original biblical Jews converted to Islam, as descendants of the European Crusaders or as immigrants to Palestine recently from elsewhere in the Arab world.⁹ I drew on Salman Rushdie's novel, *The Moor's Last Sigh*, because he coined an appropriate historiographical name to designate the multi-layered, interdependent, simultaneity of 'Ayn Hawd and Ein Hod, which he called the imaginary land of "Palimpstine", where

... worlds collide, flow in and out of one another, and washofy away . . . One universe, one dimension, one country, one dream, bumpo'ing into another, or being under, or on top of. Call it Palimpstine ... Under World beneath Over World, black market beneath white; when the whole of life was like this, when an invisible reality moved phantomwise beneath a visible fiction, subverting all its meanings, ... how could any of us escape that deadly layering? ... How could we have lived authentic lives? How could we have failed to be grotesque?¹⁰

To "palimpsest" as a verb and action is to layer and efface ineffectively because the underlying picture seeps through, but the result may be to collide violently by superimposition. In this context, in which a pre-1948 Palestinian Arab village has been taken over by Jewish Israeli artists after the founding of the State of Israel, can we speak of a settler art formed from the architecture and history of a place in which the same house has been built, rebuilt, renovated, repaired, whitewashed and painted over time by two antagonistic groups, Palestinians Arabs versus Jewish Israelis, and for opposing motives?

Two decades after my research, I was moved to revisit Janco's project by the literal meaning of "palimpsest", defined as "scraped clean and used again". On 17 February 2012, I read a news item

that shed light on aspects of an amnesiac settler society in the act of expressing feelings of at-homeness amid the landscape of Ein Hod. A headline from the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz* heralded the discovery of painted frescoes, hitherto concealed beneath whitewashed walls, created sometime in the 1950s by Janco: “Forgotten artwork by one of the fathers of the Dada movement restored to life in Israel: Meticulous restoration work in the studio-home of the late Marcel Janco in Ein Hod has revealed bold, beautiful and forgotten frescoes”.¹¹ Janco’s frescoes are palimpsests in the original sense of artifacts scraped and overwritten, more so than Rushdie’s fictional ones, with each layer of artwork attesting to sedimentations of settler time and the dynamic processes of reuse that efface prior layerings. In pre-1948 time – the era ignored in the *Haaretz* newspaper article about the miraculous archeological recovery of Marcel Janco’s murals – there were stone houses built and inhabited by the extended Palestinian Abu al-Hayja clan or *hamula*, part of the legible material culture of the *fellahin*, the Arab peasant and villager. In keeping with the settler scenario of “Palimpistine”, Janco painted the European artistic world of Dada-inflected murals, which he then superimposed on prior Palestinian habitations and stone-walled interiors.

The Palestinian stone buildings of Ein Hod are now in Jewish Israeli hands. If the village of former ‘Ayn Hawd/current Ein Hod is one place where Arabs and Jews meet across the divide that separates their respective historiographies, architecture, and narratives, what then are the salient characteristics of settler art? A constituent element of settler art emerges when looking back at Dada’s heyday of pre-World War I Europe. In Zurich, Paris, Bucharest (Janco’s hometown), and other cities where Dada flourished, the movement vociferously insisted on spontaneity, ephemerality and inconsequentiality, often deliberately self-erasing original constraints governing its own creations. Janco’s rediscovered 1950s murals were intended by him to disappear and hence, were painted over once their brief lifespan as festive backgrounds ended. The genesis of these paintings, pinpointed by the *Haaretz* article, was the occasion of Purim, a carnivalesque festival of reversal and Jewish triumph, feted in Janco’s 1950s artists’ colony of Ein Hod with a celebrated costume ball featuring frescoes:

The story dates back to Purim 1956 in Ein Hod, a village whose establishment Janco had spearheaded three years earlier. Among the pioneers of the revolutionary 20th-century art movement called Dada, Janco exhibited at important museums around the world and his work continues to fetch high prices; dozens of houses he designed as an architect grace his birthplace, Romania. In honor of Purim, Janco decided to adopt an old Italian festival tradition of decorating houses with frescoes, usually inside, to lend the Ein Hod ball a festive atmosphere. Other artists-in-residence joined the effort, and Tel Aviv’s bohemians migrated north for the event, which was widely talked about ... and it was decided that Janco would decorate his home-cum-studio, known as “Dada House”.¹²

In contrast to Dada’s manifest promotion of impermanence, what characterizes Ein Hod artists village are weighty inescapable relationships among place, history and Zionist ideology in which environmental setting and built settlements showcase European art in a new colony.¹³ Resurfacing murals (pun intended) currently on display in 2012 Ein Hod serves to realign settler art with traditional definitions of art as eternal acts to counter time and decay. This is especially so for museums such as the Janco-Dada Museum of Ein Hod, which represent national spaces to provide occasions for solidifying meanings already in place: they make conscious and visible Jewish Israeli artists occupation not only of Ein Hod the site, but also over historical time to the degree that it is possible to ignore twentieth-century injustices about lands and homes seized from Palestinians. By such means, museums may function as institutions to produce narratives of nationalism and settler colonialism.¹⁴ Discovery and nativeness stand in lieu of esthetic considerations or re-evaluations of Janco’s works beyond his international reputation, surely a prerequisite to validate the existence of a museum dedicated to Janco:

“This is a rare, once-in-a-lifetime discovery on an international scale, and nothing I have worked on can compare,” declares Eli Shaltiel, a painter and art restorer involved in the conservation project. “It is surprising and gladdening – a find with historical value,” added Michaela Mende-Janco, the granddaughter of the famous painter, an Israel Prize laureate who passed away in 1984. “It is not every day that original works by one of the most important artists here are discovered, someone whose works are preserved in museums around the world and are worth a fortune,” says Raya Zommer-Tal, director and curator of the Janco-Dada Museum in Ein Hod, near Haifa.¹⁵

It is inevitable that as the 1950s decade of founding glories are relived some 50 years later in 2012, the newspaper’s response gestures to truncated facts about historical origins. The murals themselves matter less; rather, it is resurrecting what they mean, and replaying the acts of naming what they are, that increase historical and economic values of a once temporary artifact. In other words, conceptual originality or the social contexts of Janco’s artworks – when they were produced, for whom they are circulated and revived, and the ways in which they mediate and represent the myths of settlement – are overshadowed by new tales of origins told by Jewish Israeli curators and restorers. Janco’s granddaughter, exemplifying multi-generational settler bloodlines, is photographed for the *Haaretz* article as she stands in front of Janco’s freshly revealed mural (Figure 1).

Although the material existence of Janco’s artwork triggers this particular repeated tale and genealogy of settler origins, more important are complex associations with Palestinian Arab erasures.¹⁶ For the Palestinian Abu al-Hayja clan of Ein Hod, Marcel Janco’s house and artist studio were the home of Mohammad Mahmud Muhammad ‘Abd al-Salam Abu al-Hayja, who died in 1992 in the Jenin refugee camp of the Occupied West Bank Palestinian Territory. He never returned to his home that became Janco’s house and studio nor to his vineyard, where the Janco-Dada Museum stands; known as Abu Faruq, he provided extensive oral histories in Arabic about fellow villagers and local architects who constructed and inhabited ‘Ayn Hawd buildings until 1948 (Figure 2).¹⁷



Figure 1. *Ha'aretz* 19 February 2012 article: “Michaela Mendes-Janco, the artists’s [sic] granddaughter, looking at a restored fresco.” Photograph by Daniel Tchetchik, reproduced by permission of Daniel Tchetchik.



Figure 2. Janco-Dada Museum and Marcel Janco Studio, Ein Hod, Israel, formerly the home and vineyard of Muhammad Mahmud Muhammad ‘Abd al-Salam (Abu Faruq), who died in 1992, Jenin Camp, West Bank, OPT. Photographed by Nettanel Slyomovics, reproduced by permission of Nettanel Slyomovics.

Israel’s “Mediterranean option” and Levantinism

For Ein Hod’s artists, the Janco murals exist as part of the pan-Mediterranean, architectural stone style celebrated by efforts to preserve an authentic Levantine ambience. Consider the official Ein Hod artists village website and the ways in which it constructs new histories about previous eras and village occupants, while obliterating the indigenous Palestinian:

Despite lack of funds and development resources, the village has managed to preserve its original, historic nature and the romantic and simple charm of Israel in its first years of independence. Very few places in Israel have managed to retain the authentic quality of the Mediterranean. One can still discern in the old structures the many textures and architectural forms of earlier occupants – from the Christian Crusades to the Turkish Empire. The roads and byways, a mixture of ancient and modern, all add to a very special atmosphere. Yet perhaps it is the landscape, the vegetation and the view that make this place so unique and exciting – natural Mediterranean gardens of olive, pomegranate almond and carob trees, grape vines and figs. Ein Hod has remained a nature reserve, preserving the biblical flora of ancient Israel – a perfect environment for the creative muse.¹⁸

Mediterranean inspirations for the implantation of Jewish Israeli settlers, absent Palestinian indigenous inhabitants, overlap and become intertwined with the concept of the “Mediterranean option” in Israel. For Janco, his quests for idealized harmony and homeland in the Mediterranean region occurred in visual forms aimed at the eye for immediate perceptions, as for example, when he corresponded with a fellow artist, Hans Arp: “Having fled Europe, I hoped to find a ‘Tahiti’ like Gauguin for my painting”.¹⁹ In his 1946 interview some five years after fleeing Romania to Palestine, Janco highlighted the role of the Mediterranean as central to the new kinds of art he himself was then producing, an art that was also a return to his youth, just as he “returns” to Israel, the home that belongs to him:

Compare an old painting of mine with one of the new ones and you will see at once how much this country has enriched my palette. I'm tremendously affected by the sun, by the music of colors, by the mood of the landscape. There is something unique in all of this, and capturing this uniqueness is the function of our national art. I've been returning here to my useful aspirations. I strive to bring all these experiences of these colors and forms into a certain supra-real order, as well as the feeling behind it all. This order must be as plain and evident as possible, like a folk song which contains the most sublime elements in a way that everyone can comprehend.²⁰

The Mediterranean, and what is labeled the "Mediterranean option", is defined by historian David Ohana in terms specific for Israel. A special settler narrative form subsumes a geopolitical entity, Mediterranean Israel, to a narrative of respectful storytelling between sovereign states, namely Israel and its surrounding Arab neighbors:

... a real cultural and political possibility and can therefore serve as a basis for a dialogue with Israel's neighbours, an option therefore offering a new and fresh perspective that is not dependent on the basic assumption of two contending sides. The validity of this option is contingent on the idea that there is a closeness and a rich fabric of geo-cultural affinities among the peoples living in the Mediterranean Basin – affinities with a vital political significance that can facilitate the creation of a broad dialogue and regional channels of communication, and thus to some degree moderate the Israeli–Arab dispute. This dispute is often said to be insoluble, and it is possible that this negative verdict may be due, amongst other things, to a disregard of the general Mediterranean context and of the things that are common to the heritage of all the peoples of the region, emphasizing instead only the different geo-political interests these peoples have.²¹

Ohana presents a linear narrative of progress framed by a potential happy ending, that shares similarities to Janco's visual architectural aspirations, in which Jewish Israeli settlers recognize themselves as natives and, therefore, based on a presumptive Jewish indigeneity, deign to hold out the dream of Jewish Israeli settler affinities that once realized will attenuate intractable Israeli–Arab conflicts. These notions about the Mediterranean and the "Mediterranean option" came to the fore based on historical and demographic transitions from the soon-to-be vanquished Palestinian indigene in favor of the waves of Jews from Muslim countries arriving in Israel after 1948, among them Ohana himself from Oujda, Morocco with Algerian and Moroccan forbears.²² A subcategory of the Mediterranean option to accommodate this influx coalesced around the term "Levantine" to conjure a spectrum of historical and emotional attitudes.

First, it was necessary that negative associations about a mongrel, money-grubbing Levantine merchant society should be overtaken by its opposite, a tolerant *mélange* of peoples, languages, places, and religions located along the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean Sea. These latter positive connotations derive much ahistorical theoretical form by drawing on historian Fernand Braudel's magisterial works about multiethnic empires encircling the Mediterranean during the Renaissance and into the sixteenth century. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Braudel's early 1949 publication, is bracketed at the end of his life by *Memory and the Mediterranean*, his meditation to summarize the grand sweep and *longue durée* of multiple geological, historical and visual apprehensions of the Mediterranean Sea:

Simply looking at the Mediterranean cannot of course explain everything about a complicated past created by human agents, with varying doses of calculation, caprice and misadventure. But this is a sea that patiently recreates for us scenes from the past, breathing new life into them, locating them under a sky and in a landscape that we can see with our own eyes, a landscape and sky like those of long ago. A moment's concentration or daydreaming, and that past comes back to life. ... Every successful civilization on the Mediterranean coast was obliged to define its stance towards the mountain-dweller and the nomad, whether exploiting them, fighting them off, reaching some compromise with one or other, sometimes even keeping both of them at bay.²³

Braudel acknowledges losses and gains inherent in geo-cultural directionalities, whenever the gaze of the Mediterranean's inhabitants is fixed primarily seaward. The cosmopolitan ports of the Ottoman Levant – Alexandria, Beirut, Smyrna, Constantinople, Alexandretta, and Salonica – faced the sea, but it was their relationships to the natives in the hinterland that pointed to an imbalance among Levantine cornucopias, one in which a profound gap and disequilibrium contributed to the fall of magnificent trading cities and their mercantile-based societies after four centuries of Ottoman rule.²⁴ One by one, each port was diminished and devastated by a panoply of twentieth-century movements and wars, among them nationalism and new borders, tyranny and ethnic expulsions and, for the Jewish minority, the 1917 Balfour Declaration.

Definitions of the Levant and Levantinism are notoriously contradictory and subject to change. Once the term “Levantine” traditionally referred to the European trader settled for centuries in coastal Levant, a status legally protected from Ottoman laws by European powers and the juridical force of a system of capitulations. For historian Albert Hourani, definitions of the Levantine do not delineate ethnicity but rather focus on the fact of placelessness:

... to be a Levantine is to live in two worlds or more at once without belonging to either; to be able to go through the external forms which indicate the possession of a certain nationality, religion or culture without actually possessing it. It is no longer to have a standard of one's own, not to be able to create but only able to imitate ... It is to belong to no community and to possess nothing of one's own. It reveals itself in lostness, pretentiousness, cynicism and Despair.²⁵

Twentieth-century interpretative turns, infused with multicultural and heterogeneous glosses, have come to look favorably and nostalgically backward upon former Levantine diversities and pluralities. In 1950s Israel, Levantine as a term reinforced its Janus-like proclivities by facing in two directions. To make claims to be Levantine became its opposite: the authoritative source for a series of attractive theoretical capacities. One recourse after World War I was to move from the “Levantine” toward ascriptions of “Levantinism”, a kind of cultural residue, the “ism” with which to extend the discursive reach of extinct Ottoman places and former inhabitants. “Levantinism” was best deployed to describe illusive, contemporary spaces of *literary* creativity, modes of dialogue and collaboration that might mirror a defunct, once flourishing cohabitation, yet somehow must simultaneously transcend newer national, linguistic, and political borders after World War I and II.²⁶ When Levantine is erased historically and generically as a category of people, for example, then Levantinism selectively draws on a heterogeneous set of literary descriptors adapted with hindsight for the Ottoman era, even permitting the recurring dream of an anachronistic, malleable rebirth in Israel that could call upon a putative, medieval Andalusian *convivencia*.

Parenthetically, the term *criolla* with reference to a people, exhibits similar properties to Levantinism, but was framed historically within the Spanish colonial empire's hierarchy of social classes in the new world. Based on concepts about blood purity (*limpieza de sangre*), the *criolla* was native born, descended from Spanish colonists, yet permitted a minuscule admixture percentage of Amerindian indigene (or even imported African slave) as long as bloodlines did not exceed one-eighth indigenous ancestry defined by one great-grandparent. The *criolla* category was an attempt at biologically distinguishing the Spanish colonizers who arrived from the Iberian metropole from their local, successful settler colonist *criolla* counterparts who claimed an organic, nationalist connectivity to the colonies. As with Levantinism to separate out Ashkenazi-European Jewish origins, the word *criolla* was transformed into all that is local, homegrown, and authentically native.

Kahanoff's Levantinism: the prism and the mosaic

The subjects of this essay, the writer Jacqueline Shohet Kahanoff and the artist Marcel Janco, were among Jews in post-1948 Israel who gathered from many countries to gaze across the

Mediterranean to Europe, while physically situated in a place that many could still call the Levant by appropriating the label of Levantinism to nascent Jewish Israeli cultural formations. Among foundational texts that emerged in the nation's first decades of the 1950s and 1960s concerned with Levantinism as a model for Israel are essays by the Egyptian–Israeli, English-language writer Jacqueline Shohet Kahanoff (1917–1979). Kahanoff was seen to embody the far-flung Maghribi and Mashriqi worlds of Levantine Jewry conjoined in Egypt, as literary critic Nissim Rejwan remembers her:

... [W]hatever else it was made to mean, the appellation “Levantine” suited Jacqueline Kahanoff superbly – both in the geographical and cultural sense. How else can one describe a Jewish woman who was born in Cairo of an Iraqi father and a Tunisian mother, got her schooling in a French school in the Egyptian capital yet managed to speak not a word of Arabic, studies in Paris, lived and worked in the United States, wrote a novel in English, married a Cairo-born Jew of Russian extraction, and came to Israel in the mid-1950s to find herself defending the cause of the Levantine underdog?²⁷

In Kahanoff's only work of fiction, *Jacob's Ladder*, a thinly disguised, multi-generational novel about a Levantine Jewish merchant family that was published in 1951, the importance of the Balfour Declaration is signaled in the opening pages by the family patriarch, Joseph Gaon:

The old man's wrinkled hands rested in the fold of his worn cotton robe, and his gaze was fixed upon two texts hanging side by side on the plain, whitewashed wall. One yellow with age, was the Hebrew text of the Ten commandments, the other was a copy, in English, of the Balfour Declaration which his son had sent him from Manchester. These two documents spanned the history of Israel from beginning to new beginning, he thought. The thunder of guns, the mixed tongues of allied soldiers in Cairo streets, the discordant voices of the peace-makers at Versailles in this year of 1919, had not gone unheard, even in that narrow lane.²⁸

She is deemed the forerunner, if not the personification of the Mediterranean option.²⁹ Her biographical itinerary began in Cairo and her departure from Egypt toward the end of World War II signaled the fragile existence of the Egyptian Jewish community. She traveled to New York, a sojourn preceded by her brief, pre-World War II trip to Palestine and a flirtation with Zionism's pre-state Yishuv society. At that time, Kahanoff saw herself as an interloper in Palestine, needing first to dispossess herself of a deficient Egyptian culture:

I also visited Palestine, where I was tempted by the kibbutz. One did not need money there, so I could do without my parents' consent, having just turned twenty-one, and thus would be saved from the soft, stifling, corrupting life of Egypt. Something held me back, which was not only attachment to an easy life. First I had to know Europe from the inside before I could make my choice. Only then could I go to Palestine as a whole person. I loved Egypt, but could no longer bear to be a part of it, however conscious I was of its queer charm, its enchantment, its contrasts, its ignoble poverty, and refined splendor. I had to break the spell.³⁰

In order “to know Europe from the inside” before choosing Israel, she left Egypt for the United States, where she transformed herself into an English-language (in addition to French) writer, moving between Paris and back to Cairo, before eventually settling in Israel in 1954. An essay she published in 1962 looks back at her 1937 initial visit, when she was the diaspora Egyptian Jew accompanied by her childhood friend Sylvie, who chose to study and then stay in France. Revisiting her Palestine trip twenty-five years later in the light of a return visit to Paris in 1957 offers readers a fascinating bifurcation: trenchant leftist criticisms of the Zionist enterprise are split off for Sylvie to articulate, although Kahanoff maintains the final authorial presence to voice

justifications and praise her decision to immigrate to Israel, despite sadness at the losses entailed. Childhood friendships and youthful ideas are discarded along the way to Israel:

Sylvie, as is the custom with émigrés, had maintained most of her old friendships, while I had severed them. ... Our ways have parted, and so we shall now salute like two ships meeting out at sea, whose horn blasts sound cordial enough, but whose chief concern is to avoid collision. But we barely managed to avoid colliding when we parted in Paris seven years ago. "Whatever happens, we'll always be as we were," I said to Sylvie.

"No", she replied, "not you. You will have to change if you want to live with the people there. Don't you remember how strange they seemed to us when we visited Palestine in 1937?"

"Something has changed since then", I pointed out, and our leave-taking was decidedly chilly.

I think back now to that trip to Palestine, because even then, as we returned from Jerusalem to the canal zone, our viewpoints differed, though we did not know, of course, how distant we would grow from each other over time.³¹

In Israel, Kahanoff's positioned herself as a privileged observer between Ashkenazi and Sephardi/Oriental Jews (her English terms from the 1950s). Indeed, she has been characterized as an early "polyphonic" voice that challenged prevailing Israeli ideologies oblivious to the cultures of Jews from Muslim countries, the latter variously labeled "Oriental Jews; non-Ashkenazi Jews; Jews of Islam; Arab-Jews; Jewish-Arabs; Jews of Arab lands; Sephardic-Jews; Middle Eastern Jews; Arabic-speaking Jews; North African Jews; non-European Jews; Arabic-Jews; Third World Jews; Eastern Jews; Levantine Jews; Jews of the Mediterranean; Maghribi/ Mashriqi Jews (and more)".³² For Nissim Rejwan, "geographically speaking, a Levantine is he who is born and bred in the Levant – and on that score there are many of us who are – Levantines – and Israel is and has always been a Levantine country".³³ Kahanoff prefers to inveigh against internal divisions among Jewish settlers to Palestine who see Sephardim as Arabs and fear "intermarriage among the young of different Jewish communities" and "do not want to become Arabs".³⁴ Radically for the 1950s, she reconfigures Ashkenazi (European) Jews of Israel as colonizers and her own people as the colonized, regardless of overarching Zionist pretensions toward Jewish national unity:

A typical Levantine in that I appreciate equally what I inherited from my oriental origins and what is now mine of Western culture, I find in this cross-fertilization, called disparagingly in Israel *Levanti-zation*, an enrichment and not an impoverishment. It is from this vantage point that I wish to try to define the complex interrelated malady of both Israel's Sephardic (Jews of oriental/Middle Eastern origin) and Ashkenazi (East European) communities.³⁵

She was both a worldly traveler and an exile, as were her complex publication and re-publication histories in English and Hebrew. Although many essays were written in English, they were published only in the Hebrew translation in *Keshet*, the journal of Israel's "Canaanite" movement that advocates for the formation and existence of a Hebrew, not Jewish identity rooted in the Middle East, by explicitly claiming an inclusive native-ness for both Jews and Arabs to the region. The Hebrew Canaanites were imaginatively preoccupied by the North American experience in which they saw Israeli parallels to a society of colonists who spoke a common language and themselves became natives.³⁶ For Kahanoff, this meant a sustained belief that post-1948 Jewish Israelis residing in the State of Israel belonged to a historical and cultural accretion representative of the latest wave of a cumulative and synthesizing Levantinism:

We have returned to our roots here in the Levant after we have gained – and at what a price! – an abundance of experience throughout the whole world: historical, political, scientific, social experience. And we have adapted to the modern world without losing our specific identity. We have activated something latent on the strength of the Levantine experience.³⁷

Kahanoff's writings on Levantinism first appeared in 1958–59, written in English but translated into Hebrew as a multi-part series entitled the "Generation of Levantines" (*dor ha-levantinim*). A second wave of recognition occurred twenty years later in 1978, when selected essays, collected and reprinted in Hebrew translation appeared under the title of *Mi-mizrah shemesh [From the East the Sun]* edited by her original Hebrew translator Aharon Amir. A third wavelet is owed to Ammiel Alcalay's two works, the 1993 *After Jews and Arabs: Remaking Levantine Culture* and his 1996 *Keys to the Garden: New Israeli Writing*. In 2005, another edition of her essays, reprinted in Hebrew and edited by David Ohana, is entitled *Ben shene 'olamot [Between Two Worlds]*.³⁸ Her body of writings constitutes one critical strand of the 1990s wave of recovery and translation pertaining to the multilingual, cosmopolitan community of Jewish writers from Muslim-majority countries, especially those who wrote originally and continued to write in French, Arabic, less commonly in English, but not Hebrew. The most recent republication of Kahanoff's English essays, the 2011 edition and translation, is entitled *Mongrels or Marvels: The Levantine Writings of Jacqueline Shoheit Kahanoff*, which features new English re-translations from the published Hebrew essays, as her many original English texts are no longer available.³⁹ It seems that even in terms of her translation histories, Kahanoff represents the canon formation of settler literature precisely because she is recuperated as a native Hebrew-language writer based on the loss of her original English-language manuscripts. Thus, embedded in a text that bears traces of Levantinism's varied, post-World War II linguistic trajectories, from the old world of the Levant to the new world, is Kahanoff's contribution to the discussion on the nature of the Levant, summarized in the following, much-quoted rumination:

The Levant is a land of ancient civilizations which cannot be sharply differentiated from the Mediterranean world, and is not synonymous with Islam, even if a majority of its inhabitants are Moslems. The Levant has a character and history of its own. It is called "Near" or "Middle" East in relationship to Europe, not to itself. Seen from Asia, it could just as well been called the "Middle West". Here, indeed, Europe and Asia have encroached on one another, time and time again, leaving their marks in crumbling monuments and in the shadowy memories of the Levant's peoples. Ancient Egypt, ancient Israel and ancient Greece, Chaldea and Assyria, Ur and Babylon, Tyre, Sidon and Carthage, Constantinople, Alexandria and Jerusalem are all dimensions of the Levant. So are Judaism, Christianity and Islam, which clashed in dramatic confrontation, giving rise to world civilizations, fracturing into stubborn local subcultures and the multi-layered identities of the Levant's people. It is not exclusively western or eastern, Christian, Jewish or Moslem. Because of its diversity, the Levant has been compared to a mosaic – bits of stone of different colors assembled into a flat picture. To me it is more like a prism whose various facets are joined by the sharp edge of differences, but each of which, according to its position in a time-space continuum, reflects or refracts light. Indeed, the concept of light is contained in the word Levant and in the word *Mizrah*, and perhaps the time has come for the Levant to reevaluate itself by its own lights, rather than see itself through Europe's sights, as something quaintly exotic, tired, sick and almost lifeless.⁴⁰

What is a Levantine culturally is partly answered by Kahanoff's insistence on contributions and roles for what she termed Levantine Jews. Her views on the cultures of the Levant echo prevailing anthropological approaches about the Middle East as a mosaic, an approach associated in the 1950s with American anthropologist Carleton Coon (1904–1981), whose best-selling work, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East*, was published in 1951. Coon proposed the metaphor of the "mosaic" in which "the most conspicuous fact about Middle Eastern civilization is that in each country the population consists of a mosaic of peoples" while Islam and the *suq*, or marketplace, were, respectively, the cultural and economic "cement".⁴¹ A mosaic model was perceived as an effective and overarching theoretical superstructure, a way out of particularistic, ethnocentric, microscopic studies of a single village or a lone linguistic group, and a much-needed step toward framing interactions among groups. Indeed, Coon's racial theories and authority as an anthropologist gave weight to his unsubstantiated proposition for the existence of an originary biological species, the "Mediterranean race":

Our area, from Morocco to Afghanistan, is the homeland and cradle of the Mediterranean race. Mediterraneans are found also in Spain, Portugal, most of Italy, Greece and the Mediterranean islands, and in all these places, as in the Middle East, they form the major genetic element in the local populations. In a dark-skinned and finer-boned form they are also found as the major population element in Pakistan and northern India ... The Mediterranean race, then, is indigenous to, and the principal element in, the Middle East, and the greatest concentration of a highly evolved Mediterranean type falls among two of the most ancient Semitic-speaking peoples, notably the Arabs and the Jews. (Although it may please neither party, this is the truth.) The Mediterraneans occupy the center of the stage; their areas of greatest concentration are precisely those where civilization is the oldest. This is to be expected, since it was they who produced it and it, in a sense, that produced them.⁴²

Sharing properties similar to Coon's mosaic, Kahanoff's poetic image of the Levant was the "prism whose various facets are joined by the sharp edge of differences, but each of which, according to its position in a time-space continuum, reflects or refracts light".⁴³ Prisms are fragile objects that depend on an evanescent relationship between a material surface and the ways in which light strikes that surface. Once light is split through the operations of the prism into separate constituent colors, then each Levantine community is perceived both in its unique intense colorations and as part of the multicultural Mediterranean rainbow.

Literary critic Ammiel Alcalay, whose writings and exemplary translations sparked interest in her work, elegiacally notes that Kahanoff and her poetics of Levantinism would long outlast the historical dissolution of Levantine Jewish communities. The epistemology of the prism of Levantinism persisted in Israel until the demise of Levantinism, according to Alcalay, which he dates to the mid-twentieth century. This was the decade of the 1950s in Israel during which Kahanoff paradoxically reinvigorated the internal debate between Ashkenazi-European Jewish immigrants versus Sephardi settlers over respective rights to claim Levantine indigeneity.⁴⁴ Kahanoff herself does so through her self-descriptor as Levantine "by destiny", in contrast to the surrounding Arab population, whom she perceived as potentially similar cultural hybrids but distinguishable according to different processes of hybridization that happened to them "by chance". Her bifurcation in terms of an exalted Jewish Levantinism "by destiny", which she opposed to the haphazard process for Muslims manages to elide historical causes, for example, the various impacts of British and French colonial domination in the Eastern Mediterranean and its subject populations – Muslim majority versus the region's religious minorities, urban versus rural populations, and rich versus poor:

The Arabs and other colonized peoples were cultural hybrids by chance, while we, the Levantine, were unavoidably so, as if by vocation and destiny (17–21) ... [E]ven though we sympathized with the Muslim nationalists' aspirations, we did not believe them capable of solving the real problems of this society, and for this they could not forgive us. As Levantines, we instinctively searched for fruitful compromises, feeling as we did that the end of the colonial occupation solved nothing unless western concepts were at work in this world, transforming its very soul. We knew that Europe, although far away, was inseparably part of us because it had so much to offer. These radically different attitudes toward Europe and towards our conception of the future made the parting of our ways inevitable (29) ... I am a typical Levantine in the sense that I put at the same degree what I have received from my Eastern background and what I later had in heredity from Western culture. In this reciprocal fecundity, that is Israel they call "Levantinism", I see enrichment and not impoverishment. And maybe from this perspective I can try to define the complex and intricate conflict between the two big communities composing the State of Israel (48).⁴⁵

Shimon Ballas, a Hebrew writer raised in Iraq with Arabic as his first language, maintains a similar Levantinist posture of belonging and indigeneity, but without Kahanoff's Zionism. If for Kahanoff the Arab is a cultural hybrid by chance, Ballas in turn describes himself as a Jew by chance:

... this takes us into the realm of ideology, ideology as a world view, of Judaism, of Israel, of Hebrew, and the total identity between Hebrew and the Jews. I'm a Jew by chance, it doesn't play that much of

a role with me. Zionist ideology is essentially an Ashkenazi ideology that developed in a different culture, in different surroundings, in a different world and which came to claim its stake here in the Middle East through alienation and hostility toward the surroundings, with a rejection of the surroundings, with no acceptance of the environment. I don't accept any of this, this is all very different from what I am. I am not in conflict with the environment, I came from the Arab environment and I remain in constant colloquy with the Arab environment. I also didn't change my environment. I just moved from one place to another within it. The whole project of a nationalist conception, of Zionist ideology, of the Jewish point of view, the bonds between Jews in the diaspora and Israel, all of this is quite marginal for me and doesn't play a major role, it's not part of my cultural world. I am not in dialogue with the nationalistic or Zionist point of view, nor am I in dialogue with Hebrew literature. I am not conducting a dialogue with them. If anything, I am in dialogue with language itself. On the one hand, I am trying to fend off, avoid or neutralize ideological connections or associations within the language. On the other hand, I think that I am probably trying to bring my Hebrew closer and closer to Arabic. This isn't done through syntax, but maybe through some sense of structure or way of approaching things. It is very abstract and I don't do it in a way that is completely conscious either.⁴⁶

Kahanoff is always careful to create distinctions between parts of Palestine and the "Levant" as well as between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi/Sephardi Jews to highlight her own latter group as the genuine repository of native authenticity necessary to regenerate the national Jewish indigenizing collective. In another essay entitled "Eropa me-rahok" [Europe from afar], Kahanoff underscores her views about a modern Levantine identity deeply immersed in Western concepts. She emphasizes that even the "end of colonial occupation solved nothing fundamental unless Western concepts were at work in this awakening world, transforming its very soul".⁴⁷ In the 1950s and 1960s, Levantinism in Israel had achieved a negative cast codifying fears about Orientalization, the Arab, whether referring to Jews from Arab countries or the Palestinian Arab native. Kahanoff's admirable intellectual interventions were attempts to regain a valorized position for Israel's Jews from Muslim countries. She does so through recourse to an Ottoman-era, pan-Mediterranean role of exceptional indigeneity bestowed on Levantine Jews. They become her anointed bridge between Ashkenazi-European Jews and the European-aculturated Levantine Jews from Muslim countries such as herself. She includes Israel's post-1948 Mizrahi population whom she allies in general with the dominant Jewish Israeli hegemony and thereby splits them off from the majority surrounding indigenous inhabitants, the Palestinian Arabs.⁴⁸ The rhetorical slippage is doubly deceptive. Historically, Levantines and Levantine Jews were rarely deemed natives, but rather existed precariously as extra-territorial subjects whose rights were periodically negotiated between the European powers and the Ottoman Empire. Even were claims for an Ottoman-era, Levantine Jewish "native-ness" deemed to have been a historical condition, how could these claims translate to the post-1948 realities of the establishment of the State of Israel?⁴⁹

A tale of two impossibilities

From the perspective of comparative settler colonial studies involving culture based on geography, Albert Camus also meditated on a new Mediterranean civilization in accordance with a network of social ideals allied to native regional cultures. Camus, a *pied-noir* European settler of French colonial Algeria, articulated non-nationalist, rhetorical evocations in his Algiers lecture of 1937, a decade significant both as the centenary zenith of French colonial rule over Algeria and the bloody massacres of Republican Spain and the Spanish Civil War. Despite contemporary countervailing historical dynamics, Camus's emotional immersion in diverse ethnic collectivities was intended to withstand the twentieth-century's murderous racial and nationalistic antagonisms. The Mediterranean's dense interconnectedness, Camus proposed, could lead to zones of colonial co-existences for Algeria, even if solely the product of shared encounters with sun, sea, and the sensual Mediterranean environment:

Obvious facts, (a) There is a Mediterranean sea, a basin linking about ten different countries ... This is what the Mediterranean is – a certain smell or scent that we do not need to express: we all feel it through our skin ... (b) There are other, historical, facts. Each time a doctrine has reached the Mediterranean basin, in the resulting clash of ideas the Mediterranean has always remained intact, the land has overcome the doctrine. ... What we claim as Mediterranean is not a liking for reasoning and abstractions, but its physical life – the courtyards, the cypresses, the strings of pimientos The triumphant taste for life, the sense of boredom and the weight of the sun, the empty squares at noon in Spain, the siesta, this is the true Mediterranean, and it is to the East that it is closest. The most basic aspect of Mediterranean genius springs perhaps from this historically and geographically unique encounter between East and West.⁵⁰

Literary convergences about the Mediterranean in Israel are made evident by the fact that Kahanoff shared with Camus a Hebrew translator, Aharon Amir, the avowed Canaanite writer and publisher of the movement's journal, *Kesher*, who worked from English translations of Camus to create his Hebrew translation.⁵¹ Kahanoff and Camus's works were featured in an early conference about Camus and the idea of the Mediterranean organized in 1997 in Jerusalem, during which a participant, the Baghdad-born Israeli novelist Sami Michael, wondered whether it would be possible to imagine Camus as an Israeli author. His response in many ways echoed Kahanoff's Israeli literary trajectory. Michael noted that Camus would write in French, he would be seen as an immigrant (presumably of lower social status as a North African), and would remain little known in Israel. He concluded that it was a good thing that Camus was not Israeli.⁵² Like Camus, but with greater intensity given the defeat of French Algeria, Kahanoff's corpus was recuperated on behalf of debates about the Mediterranean, the Levant and Israel as a meeting point between East and West. While no European Algerian in the 1930s could imagine an independent Algeria, is it the case that in 1950s Israel, did Kahanoff's espousal of Levantinism make her a utopian humanist or, an example of vast cultural evasions born of her Jewish Israeli settler colonist contexts? Certainly, any sentimental alliance between the indigenous Arabs and the minuscule Sephardic Jewish community of pre-48 Palestine, a prominent feature in Ammiel Alcalay's translations and recuperations, is downplayed in Kahanoff. Once the State of Israel ethnically cleansed the majority of its Palestinian Arab population, what does it mean to advocate for fictions of Levantine nativeness through her synthesis of European-ness and Levantinism? These influential reflections by Kahanoff lend themselves to an interrogation of her understandings of cultural "hybridity" in terms of a critique of Levantinism, especially in its post-1948 Hebrew version of *levantiniyut*.

Kahanoff explications of the Levantinist position in Jewish Israeli culture (especially its artistic and literary forms) emphasize the incorporation of all that is Levantine to highlight her self-positioning as the cultural meeting point, a bridge and cross-fertilizer for East–West dialogues. In what follows, I consider the gradations of overlap between Levantinism and Zionism because Kahanoff is less an agent of Israel's Zionist settler colonialism than an example of the ways in which Levantine Jews are produced and represented as Mizrahim and eventually native Arab Jews once Israel attained statehood. Kahanoff's project was to look back nostalgically to the Mediterranean basin's pre-1948 cultural heterogeneities, while simultaneously dispossessing herself of that past. Nonetheless, as a participant in Zionist settler colonialism, she must insert her tale of national origin by deploying her Levantine self as the heroine and "natural occupant" of a new state.⁵³ This means she can set about settling in the land of Israel without occupying or colonizing. To do so is to claim that writers such as Kahanoff, especially those who arrived in Israel after 1948 espousing cultural and literary forms such as Levantinism, closely resemble comparative cultural and literary forms of white settlers everywhere and driven by one of these two possible colonialist mind-sets delineated by historian Gabriel Piterberg:

One was metropole colonialism, in which the European powers conquered and ruled vast territories, but without the emigration there of Europeans seeking to make these territories their national home: British India is a good example. The other type was settler colonialism, in which conquest brought with it substantial waves of European settlers who, with the passage of time, sought to make the colony their national patrimony. This process entailed a relationship with the indigenous people that could range from dispossession to elimination, or from slavery – which for the most part did not use the native population – to cheap labour, depending on the economic and social formation of the given settler society.⁵⁴

Superimposed on Kahanoff's Levantinism are arguments framed by settler colonial studies perspectives specifically applied to the Israel–Palestine context. As a general statement, settler colonial societies produce literature and art that are constrained by two conflicting and antithetical imperatives, my tale of two impossibilities. The first is to fulfill the esthetic requirements of Europe, as with Janco's importing Dada to Ein Hod, rendering settler literature and art answerable to the literature and art of Europe. Consequently, making art in the periphery is never on par with, never as good as, the art of the metropole, despite Kahanoff's insistence that she must "know Europe from the inside" before settling in Israel. Here the issue of whether settler art is a force for good or ill is subsumed under the settler's heroic attempts to manage and control art, to have authority over it by sustaining a critical, authorizing voice that defines and determines what constitutes art. A second contrary and distinctive imperative is to indigenize, or to "go native". Kahanoff, who sees herself as native through her Levantine heritage, can potentially localize her putative nativeness to Israel and participate in the latest phases of an esthetic, organic refashioning by Jewish Israeli settlers, whether Ashkenazi or Sephardi, Levantine or Mizrahi, all together claiming they are the new and real natives, proudly Eurocentric but nonetheless "natural occupants".

These two attempts, outlined above, have emerged in Israel to produce indigenous art, itself a crucial marker of successful settler indigenization: Janco's art was to disavow indigenous presences and literally appropriate their artistic formations. Levantinism is to disavow the same presences by claiming to belong vicariously through a set of exogenous alterities in which Jews from Muslim countries are selectively included and understood as authentically belonging to the place.⁵⁵ Historian Lorenzo Veracini assigns the rhetorical label of a "synecdochal" move, one in which the part stands for the whole, in this case with the Levantine contiguous with the Israeli. According to this argument, since Palestine is presumed to be part of the Levant and the Mediterranean, then the claim that Levantine and Mediterranean peoples genuinely belong to Palestine will follow. Therefore, when Kahanoff moves from one Levantine location in Egypt to another in Palestine, she sees herself as not really moving. Janco and Kahanoff's strategies, of course, are complementary and settler artists can shift from one to the other seamlessly. My counter-argument is to see Janco and Kahanoff locked into a grave rhetorical misapprehension, namely mistaking metaphor (similarity and likeness) for synecdoche (the container intimately connected to its contents).⁵⁶ Synecdoche reflects on the relationship between the particular to the general in ways that Veracini succinctly characterizes as the genius of the settler to live within the continuous synecdochic method of indigenization: "we don't belong to the land, but this people, who are not us, are part of us, and they are part of the region, and the land is part of the region, so we belong to the land".⁵⁷

Latter-day Levantinisms

There may be those who possess a benevolent view of the Mediterranean option and its Levantine theoretical subsets, if only for the purpose of emphasizing the important contributions of Mizrahi Jews to post-1948 Israeli literature and politics. Such mitigations do not apply to the persistence of

settler colonial tropes inherent in Levantinism. Janco's project corresponds to something tangibly out there in the world, a Jewish Israeli colony that he made into an objective social fact, while Kahanoff's Levantinism lends itself to striking discursive parallels and inevitable outcomes no different from, or perhaps equally insidious to Janco's complete takeover of a Palestinian Arab village. Lest readers discredit what follows by claiming that I have fallen into the fallacy of origins, the current roles of Kahanoff the author endure in ways attributable to her. I maintain that as a parallel to Kahanoff's construction of Levantine nativeness to Israel, there is the often-proffered theory of "population transfer". Janco, of course, had already effectively instigated his own version of population transfer by making sure that the expelled Palestinian Arabs of 'Ayn Hawd were permanently replaced with Israeli Jewish artists. Population transfer theory relies on models of international Mediterranean-based exchanges, but are parsed in this way: since Israel has absorbed the influx of some 850,000 Jews from a wide variety of Muslim countries, then Israel's surrounding Muslim countries must accept some 750,000 to one million Palestinian Arabs forcibly depopulated from Israel. Levantinism merges with its former circum-Mediterranean global interconnectedness to redefine all those labeled natives as not only alike, but substitutable, disposable, moveable peoples. The trope of substitution is evident in Yehouda Shenhav's conclusion about Iraqi Jews, which holds true for Jewries from other Muslim countries: "The Jews of Iraq became hostages of – and a fig leaf for – the Israeli government in its effort to divest itself of responsibility for compensating Palestinian refugees".⁵⁸ Shenhav's traces the history of the "de facto population transfer" idea and its espousal by the World Organization of Jews from Arab Countries (WOJAC) as a response to Palestinian activism of the 1970s – "we [WOJAC] are the Jewish answer to the PLO".⁵⁹

Kahanoff's brand of cultural interconnectedness and an equipoised refugee status lives on in another of the latest eruptions. On 1 April 2008, the US Congress passed House Resolution 185 to grant recognition to Jewish refugees from Arab and Muslim countries and affirmed all victims of the Arab–Israeli conflict must be treated with equality. This means that Jews living in Arab and Muslim countries suffered human rights violations, were uprooted from their homes and made refugees and it would "be inappropriate and unjust for the United States to recognize rights for Palestinian refugees without recognizing equal rights for Jewish refugees from Arab countries".⁶⁰ Palestinian refugees, as well as former Jewish refugees from Arab countries, especially those who live in Israel, are realigned in an indistinguishable ahistorical and presumed balanced equilibrium in order to share victimhood from the same Middle East conflict, or so declared Shelomo Alfassa, director of "Justice for Jews from Arab Countries", an organization officially founded in 2008 close on the heels of the American resolution.⁶¹ Paradoxically, this position assumes that all Jewish departures from Arab lands are understood entirely due to Arab violence against Jews throughout the Mediterranean, without regard for the agency of Zionism and the newly created State of Israel as a desired destination. Also at stake are millions of dollars of reparations for lost Jewish property from current Arab states that serve as quid pro quo blockages to discussions about Palestinian claims to reparations for their multiple losses.⁶²

The latest apotheosis of recurring settler colonist narratives is to be found in the "Commission to Examine the Status of Building in Judea and Samaria" (known as the Levy Committee after its chair Judge Edmond Levy). Appointed by Israeli President Benjamin Netanyahu, their conclusions were disseminated in July 2012: there was no occupation and the Jewish Israeli settlements are deemed legal for the Occupied Palestinian Territories (OPT) in the West Bank:

Our basic conclusion is that from the point of view of international law, the classical laws of "occupation" as set out in the relevant international conventions cannot be considered applicable to the unique and sui generis historic and legal circumstances of Israel's presence in Judea and Samaria, over the course of

decades ... Therefore, according to international law, Israelis have the legal right to settle in Judea and Samaria and the establishment of settlements cannot, in and of itself, be considered to be illegal.⁶³

The legal framework of occupation, the very word itself, is labeled inadequate and more so, inaccurate. Israel's economy, infrastructure, and storytelling capacities are intertwined with the occupation to such a degree that it is no longer conceivable to distinguish settlement enterprises in the OPT from those inside Israel's "Green Line", despite decades of oppositional decisions both international and national (e.g. International Court of Justice, the Fourth Geneva Convention, and prior Supreme Court of Israel rulings). There are more connections than may be apparent between these two symptomatic announcements about population exchange theory and occupation. Settler art acts out the course of settler history, one that historian Lorenzo Veracini has characterized as linear, teleological, ambidextrously erasing the native on one hand while inscribing its own indigeneity on the other hand.⁶⁴ The enterprise of population exchange theories, for example, assumes an unproblematic and unchallengeable act of naming. The tone for such grand narratives is set by decades of Zionist cultural insecurities to rename people, places, and landscapes (often termed "redeeming" names to their original biblical Hebrew). Hebraicizing names so that 'Ayn Hawd turns into Ein Hod and Levantines evolve into natives is carried over to renaming historical processes – an illegal occupation reveals itself as a settled world with pastoral landscapes.

Questions about indigeneity were held to an international vote on 13 September 2007, when the United Nation's "Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" was adopted by the General Assembly. A majority of 144 states was in favor, while four successful settler colonial nations (Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United States) were in opposition. Eventually the four reversed their votes to endorse the legislation, with President Obama adding the United States as a signatory nation in 2011. Israel was among some 34 countries abstaining.⁶⁵ Article 26 states that "Indigenous peoples have the right to the lands, territories and resources which they have traditionally owned, occupied or otherwise used or acquired", while Article 28 proposes that indigenous groups "have the right to redress", including "restitution" and "just, fair and equitable compensation" for their lands "confiscated, taken and occupied". Internationally, the United Nations, the International Labor Organization and the World Bank's lists of indigenous and minority populations around the world include Palestinian Arabs and the Bedouin as the only people both indigenous and a minority to Israel.⁶⁶ The 2007 UN Declaration revived the issue in an international forum defining which group is indigenous and who are the colonizing occupiers. Immediately, claims for Jewish indigeneity in Palestine were circulated based on the principles of continuous habitation coupled with post-1948 Zionist reclamations of a historic Jewish space since biblical times, reminiscent of France's claims to Algeria and their other North African Protectorates, based on the presence of pre-Islamic Christian communities.⁶⁷

Notes toward an understanding of settler art

Art, according to Thomas Kuhn's 1960s definition of paradigm shifts, is not like science, where momentous changes are based on verifiable scientific observation (albeit in the form of nonlinear, episodic revolutions).⁶⁸ Changes in the way viewers see and understand art are the opposite of scientific progress according to the ways they are always in flux, and not able to be proven false or true. In Janco's case, settler art owes much to Dada's manifesto-like capacity to make pronouncements and declarations (rather than scientific discoveries) with which to create settler colonial contexts that favor the vernacular, the indigenous, and the so-called primitive. Settler discourses about art, like art, can support contradictory even incompatible artistic traditions because what matters is the confluence between settler art and settler colonialism that is mutually

reinforcing and sustainable. Thus, settler art, much like colonial settlements, seizes land by making claims over the existence of actual native objects (e.g. Palestinian Arab vernacular architecture) or through discourses about owning and belonging in place (Levantinism). Building museums (such as the Janco-Dada Museum) serves to architecturally house the artifacts that create settler colonial cultural politics and thereby create the settler colonial representation of the nation. Since social theorist Antonio Gramsci advocated for cultural analyses to counter what seems to be natural cultural dominations and hegemonies, and as a tactic to ally culture and power when political change seemed blocked, I look at settler art to turn attention to the cultural sphere and to an inquiry of both its methods (Kahanoff) and its objects (Janco).

Acknowledgments

The author would like to thank Kamal Boullata for launching this study, Gabriel Piterberg and Lorenzo Veracini for their encouragement and careful readings. My thanks go to photographers Nettanel Slyomovics and Daniel Tchetchik for permission to reproduce their images. None of the institutions or people is responsible for views expressed.

Notes

1. Linda Hardy, 'Natural Occupancy', in *Asian Pacific Inscriptions*, ed. Suvendrini Perera (Victoria: Meridian, 1995), 213–27. See also Gabriel Piterberg, who calls for "a conversation between two fields of inquiry: the historically and sociologically grounded field of comparative settler colonialism on the one hand, and culture studies and comparative literature on the other" in his 'Literature of Settler Societies: Albert Camus, S. Yizhar and Amos Oz', *Settler Colonial Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011): 1–52.
2. Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 1999), 2.
3. Hardy, 'Natural Occupancy'.
4. For a sympathetic analysis of Kahanoff and Levantism as "a traumatic outcome of colonialism and a means of recovery", see Gil Z. Hochberg, *Spite of Partition: Jews, Arabs, and the Limits of Separatist Imagination* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007), 53. See also works by David Ohana 'The Mediterranean Option in Israel: An Introduction to the Thought of Jacqueline Kahanoff', *Mediterranean Historical Review* 21, no. 2 (2006): 239–63.
5. On pre-1948 state Yishuv approaches to indigeneity, see the analysis of the "Hebrew Bedouin" by Yael Zerubavel. She points to important selective adaptations in the ways Jews up to the 1930s valorized the native Bedouin (as opposed to the *fellaheen* or the urban Palestinian) before statehood was achieved: "Although the descriptions of the Arabs' response to the sight of the New Jew's acquired hybrid identity and transformed behavior tended to emphasize their wonder and belief that these were indeed 'Jews', other references may suggest that the hybrid dress and horse riding may have fooled fellow Jews more than the Arabs. ... Nonetheless, these descriptions provide evidence of the Jewish immigrants' wish to 'pass' as natives and their mobilization of the Arab not only as a source for inspiration but also as the trop of the symbolic witness who affirms the success in acquiring the native look and becoming part of the landscape", in Yael Zerubavel, 'Memory, the Rebirth of the Native, and the Hebrew Bedouin Identity', *Social Research* 75, no. 1 (2008): 331 [315–52].
6. Orhan Pamuk, *The Museum of Innocence* (New York: Vintage, 2010), 518.
7. Albert Camus, *The Rebel* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1956).
8. Francis Nauman, 'Janco/Dada: An Interview with Marcel Janco', *Arts Magazine* 57, no. 3 (1982): 86, also quoted in Slyomovics, *The Object of Memory: Arab and Jew Narrate the Arab Village* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 32.
9. See my chapter on 'Dada Colonialism', in *Object*, pp. 29–81.
10. Salman Rushdie, *The Moor's Last Sigh* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1995), 226.
11. Ofer Aderet, 'Forgotten Artwork by One of the Fathers of the Dada Movement Restored to Life in Israel: Meticulous Restoration Work in the Studio-Home of the Late Marcel Janco in Ein Hod has Revealed Bold, Beautiful and Forgotten Frescoes', *Haaretz*, February 17, 2012, <http://www.haaretz.com/weekend/week-s-end/forgotten-artwork-by-one-of-the-fathers-of-the-dada-movement-restored-to-life-in-israel-1.413453>.

12. Ibid.
13. Alex Calder, *The Settler's Plot* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2011), vii.
14. Hegnar Watenpaugh, 'Museums and the Construction of National History in Syria and Lebanon', in *The British and French Mandates in Comparative Perspective*, vol. 1, eds. Nadine Méouchy and Peter Sluglett (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 315–20. Specifically for history-making in Israel, see Tamar Katriel's excellent study of Israeli local heritage museums, known as "settlement" museums, in her *Performing the Past: A Study of Israeli Settlement Museums* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997).
15. Aderet, 'Forgotten Artwork'.
16. See Alfred Gell on the study of anthropology of art as "social relations in the vicinity of objects mediating social agency", Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 7, in which the reference point for things are what we humans say about objects; and Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value', in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. A. Appadurai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3–63.
17. See Sharif Kanaana and Bassam Tibi, 'Ayn Hawd (Birzeit: Markaz al-Watha'iq wa-al-Abhath, 1987) and Slyomovics, *Object*, pp. 38–39, 99–101.
18. From the official website of Ein Hod Artists village: <http://ein-hod.info/>
19. Marcel Janco, letter to Hans Richter, 10 March 1950, cited in *The Dada Painters and Poets: An Anthology*, ed. Robert Motherwell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), xxvi–xxvii.
20. Marcel Janco interview quoted in Harry Seiwart, *Marcel Janco: Dadaist, Zeitgenosse, wohltemperierter morgenländischer Konstruktivist* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1993), 218–9.
21. David Ohana, *The Origins of Israeli Mythology: Neither Canaanites Nor Crusaders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 36. See also Tiziana Carlino, 'The Levant: A Trans-Mediterranean Literary Category?' *TRANS* 2 (2006), <http://trans.revues.org/129> (accessed June 24, 2012).
22. On his return visit to Morocco, see Ohana, 'A la Recherche du Temps Marocain Perdu', in David Ohana, ed. *Israel and its Mediterranean Identity* (New York: Palgrave Mcmillan, 2011), 189–200 and 102.
23. Fernand Braudel, *Memory and the Mediterranean* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 2001), 96. See also the English translation of Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972–1973), first edition published in 1946 and his *Grammar of Civilizations* (written between 1962 and 1963, republished in 1987) in which history delineates six civilizations, one of them Muslim.
24. Philip Mansel, *Levant: Splendour and Catastrophe on the Mediterranean* (London: John Murray, 2010).
25. Albert Hourani, *Minorities of the Arab World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 70–1. Additional definition is by Jean-Marc R. Oppenheim, 'Levantine', *Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East*, vol. 3 (New York: Mcmillan, 1996), 1098–11.
26. Gil Z. Hochberg, 'Permanent Immigration: Jacqueline Kahanoff, Ronit Matalon and the Impetus of Levantinism', *Boundary 2* 31, no. 2 (2004): 219–43; *In Spite of Partition: Jews, Arabs, and the Limits of Separatist Imagination* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007). See also Joel Beinin, *The Dispersion of Egyptian Jewry: Culture, Politics, and the Formation of a Modern Diaspora* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998), xxx on Kahanoff caught between Egyptian nationalism and her nostalgia for Egypt once she departed.
27. Nissim Rejwan, *Outsider in the Promised Land: An Iraqi Jew in Israel* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2006), 68–9.
28. Jacqueline Shohet, *Jacob's Ladder* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1951), 5.
29. Ohana, 'The Mediterranean Option', 239.
30. Kahanoff, 'Eropa me-rahok' [Europe from Afar], first published in 1959 as part of her *Dor ha-Levantine* [Generation of Levantines] essay series in the journal *Keshet*. This quote is from 2011 re-translation back to English from the Hebrew available in *Mongrels or Marvels: The Levantine Writings of Jacqueline*, eds. Shohet Kahanoff, Deborah A. Starr, and Sasson Somekh (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2011), 110; Hebrew re-translation reprinted in her 1978 collected essays of Jacqueline Shohet Kahanoff, *Mi-mizrah shemesh* [From the East the Sun], ed. Aharon Amir (Tel-Aviv: Hadar, 1978), 31; and original Hebrew text first appeared as "Eropa me-rahok", *Keshet* xxxx.
31. Kahanoff et al., 'Wake of the Waves', in *Mongrels or Marvels*, 137–8.
32. On Kahanoff's polyphony and an excellent comprehensive review of the literature on Kahanoff, see the English translation of David Ohana's 2008 *Lo Kena'ananim lo Tsalbanim* published as *The Origins of Israeli Mythology: Neither Canaanites nor Crusaders* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

- Press, 2012), especially pp. 198–221. Terminological discussions are in Moshe Behar, ‘What’s in a Name? Socio-Terminological Formations and the Case for “Arabized Jews”’, *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture* 15, no. 6 (2009): 747–71: “... twenty signifiers for a minuscule total of 750,000 individuals constituting no less than ten communities”.
33. Rejwan, *Outsider in the Promised Land*, p. 80, quoting from his own 16 May 1961 article, “What is Levantinism?”
 34. Kahanoff, ‘Ambivalent Levantine’, in *Mongrels or Marvels*, p. 208.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
 36. David Ohana, *The Origins of Israeli Mythology*, 79. See also Dan Laor, ‘American Literature and Israeli Culture: The Case of the Canaanites’, *Israel Studies* 5, no. 1 (2000): 287–300.
 37. Kahanoff, ‘Mimitsrayim le kan’ [From Egypt to Here] *Ma’ariv*, 1967 quoted in Ohana, *The Origins of Israeli Mythology*, 201. see also Dolly Ben-Habib, ‘Levantine Female Identity as Elitist Disguise in Jacqueline Kahanov’s Writings’, *Woman’s Study International Forum* 20 (1997): 689–96; Gil Z. Hochberg, ‘Permanent Immigration’.
 38. Kahanoff, *Ben shene ’olamot*, ed. David Ohana (Jerusalem: Keter, 2005).
 39. Kahanoff et al., *Mongrels or Marvels*.
 40. First published in English from a manuscript made available to Ammiel Alcalay, *After Jews and Arabs* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 71–2. See the bibliography of Kahanoff’s writings: <http://library.osu.edu/projects/hebrew-lexicon/00112.php/>
 41. Carleton Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York: Henry Holt, 1951), 2. On Coon, see my ‘State of the Art Studies: An Introduction to the Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa’, in *Anthropology of the Middle East and North Africa: Into the New Millennium*, ed. Sherine Hafez and Susan Slyomovics (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2013), 3–22.
 42. Coon, *Caravan*, 154–7.
 43. See note 40 above.
 44. Alcalay, *After Jews Arabs*, 119–21.
 45. Quote appears only in Alcalay, *After Jews Arabs*, 71–3.
 46. Ammiel Alcalay interview with Shimon Ballas, *Words Without Borders* website, <http://wordswithoutborders.org/article/at-home-in-exile-an-interview-with-shimon-ballas#ixzz23gru1r80>
 47. Kahanoff, “Eropa me-rahok” [Europe from Afar], 107.
 48. For excellent critiques of this position see Ella Shohat, ‘Taboo Memories, Diasporic Visions: Columbus, Palestine and Arab Jews’, in her *Taboo Memories, Diasporic Visions* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 201–32 and Sami Chetrit, *Intra-Jewish Conflict in Israel: White Jews, Black Jews* (New York: Routledge, 2010).
 49. Kahanoff, ‘Reflections of a Levantine’, *The Jewish Frontier* April (1958): 7–11. See Nissim Rejwan on the “Levantinism scare”, in his *Outsider in the Promised Land*, 68 and passim.
 50. Neil Foxlee, *Albert Camus’s ‘The New Mediterranean Culture: A Text and Its Contexts’* (New York: Peter Lang, 2011), 37–49 for Camus’s full lecture annotated. Much has been written about Camus’s myth of Mediterraneanism, its link to the interwar school of Algiers and French discourses about indigeneity, see for example, Ray Davison, ‘Mythologizing the Mediterranean: The Case of Albert Camus’, *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 10 (2000): 77–92.
 51. Aharon Amir’s mistranslations of Camus from an English text that Camus repudiated is discussed in Helena Shillony, ‘Les traductions de Camus en hébreu’, *Albert Camus, parcours méditerranéens: actes du Colloque de Jérusalem, 10–13 novembre 1997*, Institut Van Leer de Jérusalem, ed. Fernande Bartfeld and David Ohana *Perspectives* 5 (1998), 247–51.
 52. This anecdote is recounted in David Ohana, ‘Camus and the Israelis,’ in David Ohana, ed. *Israel and its Mediterranean Identity*, 135–54. Conference proceedings were published minus any contribution by Michael in a special issue of the Hebrew university journal *Perspectives* entitled *Albert Camus, parcours méditerranéens*.
 53. Hardy, ‘Natural Occupancy’.
 54. Gabriel Piterberg, ‘Settlers and their States: A Reply to Ze’ev Sternhell’, *New Left Review* 62 (2010), 115–24, <http://www.newleftreview.org/II/62/gabriel-piterberg-settlers-and-their-states>
 55. On the concept of “exogenous Others”, see Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Houndsmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010) and Lorenzo Veracini, ‘On Settlerliness’, *Borderlands e-journal* 10, no. 1 (2011), 1–7, <http://www.scribd.com/doc/79016404/veracini-settlerliness>
 56. In an earlier article about my 1989 return visit to my parent’s villages in former Czechoslovakia, I deployed a triangulation model of figures of speech to parse Jewish destruction and exile from Eastern Europe to immigration and settlement in the USA or Israel: “... the relationship of

- memory and narrative to geographical place wavers about the rhetorical tropes of synecdoche, metaphor and mimesis. Synecdoche substitutes the part for the whole ... , mimesis pictures and mirrors, ultimately mimicking what it represents ... , metaphor asserts an identity as opposed to a likeness. The triad of representational tropes all carry within themselves the regretting difference from that which they represent, thereby provoking a desire for that which is absent and lost”, see Susan Slyomovics, Rebbele Mordkhele’s Pilgrimage in New York City, Tel Aviv and Carpathian Ruthenia’, in *Going Home*, ed. Jack Kugelmass (Evanston: Northwestern University Press and Yivo Institute for Jewish Research), 392.
57. Lorenzo Veracini email to the author, August 20, 2012.
 58. Yehouda Shenhav, *The Arab Jews: A Postcolonial Reading of Nationalism, Religion and Ethnicity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 132. Recently, Facebook announced a new organization (<http://www.facebook.com/BaghdadiJews>) on 17 September 2012, the newly formed Committee of Baghdadi Jews in Ramat-Gan, with this post: “We are seeking to demand compensation for our lost property and assets from the Iraqi government – NOT from the Palestinian Authority – and we will not agree with the option that compensation for our property be offset by compensation for the lost property of others (meaning, Palestinian refugees) or that said compensation be transferred to bodies that do not represent us (meaning, the Israeli government).”
 59. Shenhav, *The Arab Jews*, 142.
 60. Full text available at: <http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/110/hres185/text>
 61. Official website at <http://www.justiceforjews.com/>. For the theoretical and legal underpinnings, see Irwin Cotler, David Matas, and Stanley A. Urman, *Jewish Refugees from Arab Countries: The Case for Rights and Redress*, September 5, 2007, available on the “JJAC” website.
 62. See Michael R. Fischbach, *Jewish Property Claims against Arab Countries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008) and his more recent, ‘Jewish Property Claims and Post-Qaddafi Libya’, *Middle East Report/MERIP* 263 (2012): 44–5, 48.
 63. The report in English translation is available at: <http://www.pmo.gov.il/NR/rdonlyres/42C25B01-428B-40FC-8A6B-E9B1F5315D74/0/edmundENG100712.pdf>
 64. Veracini, *Settler Colonialism*, 99–100.
 65. The full text is available on United Nations, Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues: <http://social.un.org/index/IndigenousPeoples/DeclarationontheRightsofIndigenousPeoples.aspx>
 66. As’ad Ghanem and Mohanad Mustafa, ‘The Palestinians in Israel: The Challenge of the Indigenous Group Politics in the “Jewish State”’, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 31, no. 2 (2011): 177–96.
 67. On French claims to Algeria, see Patricia M.E. Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995).
 68. Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962).